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Message Text

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11
ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 PM-03 SP-02 L-01

INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 ORM-01 SR-02 IO-03 EB-03 /046 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9554
INFO /AMEMBASSY BANGKOK 4357
AMECONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY MANILA
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
CINCPAC, HONOLULU, HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 5194

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, JA, VN, VS
SUBJECT: JAPAN AND VIETNAM

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUMMARY: IN DISCUSSION GOJ POLICY TOWARD INDOCHINA, FONOFF OFFICIAL SAID GOJ WOULD PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO GVN IF SITUATION TABILIZES. FONOFF EXPECTS HANOI TO SEEK RESUMPTION OF ASSISTANCE DISCUSSIONS WITHIN MONTH OR TWO AND THEREAFTER JAPAN CAN OPEN ITS EMBASSY IN HANOI. IN WAKE OF HANOI'S MILITARY SUCCESS, OFFICIALS FEAR HANOI MAY STRKE SAIGON AND SEEK FORCED REUNIFICATION OF NORTH AND SOUTH VN. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF (HANABUSA) BRIEFED US ON CURRENT THINKING IN GOJ ON INFOCHINESE DEVELOPMENTS. REGARDING JAPAN'S POLICY TOWARD GVN, HANABUSA SAID GOJ WOULD BE PREPARED TO SIGN IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT FOR NINE BILLION YEN COMMODITY LOAN AGREEMENT IF SITUATION CONFIDENTIAL

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IN MINI-SVN STABILIZES. (IT WAS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT HANABUSA DOES NOT EXPECT GVN TORESTORE STABILITY.) HE NOTED, NONETHELESS, THAT OECF WAS A LOAN AGENCY AND HAD TO PAY SERIOUS HEED TO CHANCES FOR REPAYMENT OF LOANS. REGARDING SEVEN BILLION YEAN GRANT AID TO

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SVN, HE SAID FUNDS WOULD HAVE TO BE SHIFTED TO REGUGEE RELIEF
PROJECTS BECAUSE OF CHANGED SITUATION, BUT GOJ COULD PROCEED
WITH PROVIDING SAIGON FUNDS IN TRANCHES OF ONE TO TWO BILLION
YEN AS SOON AS GVN PROPOSES APPROPRIATE ALTERNATE USAGE OF AID.
HANABUSA NOTED WITH DISMAY THAT DEP PRIMIER DAN, WHO HAD
MANAGED REFUGEE AFFAIRS VERY EFFECTIVELY, WAS DROPPED IN NEW
CABINET, AT MOMENT WHEN HIS SERVICES WERE MOST NEEDED.

2. HANABUSA WAS CAUTIONS ON PRG AND EMBOFF SENSED THAT HE WOULD NOT
FAVOR ANY SHIFT IN GOJ RELATIONS WITH GVN AND PRG AS LONG AS
PRESENT CONDITIONS PREVAIL. HANABUSA NOTED, SIGNIFICANTLY, THAT
HANOI PROBABLY REGRETS THAT THEY HAVE BUILT UP THE
INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE PRG SINCE IT NOW STANDS AS A
BARRIER TO EARLY REUNIFICATION OF NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM. HE IS
NOT SURE HOW HANOI WILL TREAT PRG ISSUE IN DRV-JAPAN TALKS
IN FUTURE.

3. COMMENTING THAT HANOI WAS FURIOUS OVER VAILURE OF ITS
ECONOMIC MISSION TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH TOKYO ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE,

HANABUSA SAID HANOI HAS INFORMALLY ACCUSED GOJ OF BOWING
TO US PRESSURES. HANABUSA EXPECTS HANOI'S
SEVERE ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS (IN NVN AND SVN) TOIMPELL NVN
WITHIN MONTH OR TWO TO APPROACH GOJ SEEKING TO RESUME ECONOMIC
ASSISTANCE TALKS. BALL IS IN HANOI'S COURT. HANABUSA ASSUMES
THAT OPENINGOF EMBASSY IN DRV BY JAPAN WILL HAVE TO AWAIT
RESOLUTION OF AID ISSUE, AND, THEREFORE, HE ANTICIPATES A
DELAY OF TWO OR THREE MONTHS.

4. ASSESSING CURRENT MILITARY SITUATION IN SVN, HANABUSA OUTLINED
THREE CHOICES HANOI SEEMS TO HAVE: A) NVN COULD STRKE SAIGON
AS SOON AS ITS TROOPS ARE POSITIONED, ARVN AND GVN WOULD BE OVERCOME
BY NVN'S SUPERIOR MILITARY FORCES, AND HANOI COULD UNITED NORHT AND
SOUTH VIET VIETNAM. HANABUSA COMMENTED THAT SHOULD HANOI PURSUE THIS
COURSE, HANOI WOULD HAVE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES CONTROLLING SVN
SINCE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARE NOT YET PREPARED TO BE "SOCIALIZED".

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B) HANOI COULD PURSUE "CAMBODIAN STRATEGY", EVEN LEAVING PRES
THIEU IN POWER FOR PERHAPS A YEAR, BUT SLOWLY TAKING CONTROL OF

THECOUNTRYSIDE, PREPARING POPULATION FOR "SOCIALIST" RULE.
C) HANOI COULD USE ITS INFLUENCE TO "IMPLEMENT PARIS ACCORDS
"A LA HANOI" BY SETTING UP THIRD PARTY COALITION RULING COMMITTEES
CALLED FOR IN PARIS ACCORDS. EARLIER, HANABUSA THOUGHT HANOI WOULD
PURSUE OPTION B OR C, BUT COLLAPSE OF SVN'S DEFENSES, UNEXPECTED
BY HANOI, SEEMS TO HAVE LED HANOI TO CONSIDER ATTACKING SAIGON
DIRECTLY AND IN NEAR FUTURE. THIS CONCLUSION IS BOLSTERED BY
TWO OTHER FACTORS: ONE, HANOI'S TROOP DEPLOYMENTS CIRCLING
SAIGON SEEM POISED FOR ATTACK, AND TWO, WITH TOTAL VICTORY
SEEMINGLY AT HAND, HANOI IS PROBABLY RELUCTANT TO SET UP A QUASI

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INDEPENDENT SVN WHICH WOULD REQUIRE TIME AND GREAT EFFORTS TO DISESTABLISH AND UNITE WITH NVN UNDER HANOI'S RULE.

5. COMMENT: COLLAPSE OF NON-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS IN INDOCHINA AND INABILITY OF US TO ACT TO STRENGTHEN RESISTANCE, ESPECIALLY IN SVN, SEEMS MORE SURPRISING TO GOJ THAN TO GENERAL PUBLIC AND MEDIA IN JAPAN. JUDGING FROM TALK WITH HANABUSA AND FONMIN'S PUBLIC REMARKS SINCE RETURNING FROM WASHINGTON, FONOFF, WHILE RATHER GRIMLY WAITING OUTCOMING IN SVN, IS JOINING MEDIA AND PROBABLY PUBLIC IN JAPAN IN PREPARING TO ACCEPT NEW REALITIES IN INDOCHINA AND TO ATTEMPT NEW POLICIES OF RECONCILIATION AND ASSISTANCE WITH WHATEVER GOVERNMENTS MAY EMERGE. GOJ WILL HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH THESE NEW OBJECTIVES IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH ASEAN GOVERNMENTS, ALTHOUGH GOJ PROBABLY WOULD WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT WITH US AS WELL ON FUTURE STRATEGY FOR INDOCHINA AND SEA, IT IS GENERALLY ASSUMED THAT IT WILL REQUIRE SOME TIME BEFORE US CAN BEGIN TO ADJUST POLICIES TO NEW CIRCUMSTANCES.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLICIES, POLITICAL STABILITY, FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: buchantr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975TOKYO05194
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-1
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750137-1072
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197504102/baaaafgj.tel
Line Count: 129
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: buchantr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAY 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <06 OCT 2003 by buchantr>
Review Markings:

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EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, JA, VN, VS, XC
To: STATE INFO BANGKOK
AMECONSUL HONG KONG
JAKARTA
KUALA LUMPUR
MANILA
PEKING

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CINCPAC, HONOLULU, HAWAII
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